

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 TEL AV 02136 281059Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 IO-13 /086 W
-----281306Z 006860 /43

R 280912Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5426
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEL AVIV 2136

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, UR, XF, PINT
SUBJECT: EBAN ON CURRENT ELECTORAL SCENE AND BREZHNEV SPEECH

1. VISITING NEA/RA DIRECTOR STEPHEN PALMER AND
D EMBOFF

MET WITH ABBA EBAN AT HIS HOME ON MARCH 25. THE FOLLOWING
ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONVERSATION, AS THEY CONCERN
THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE IN ISRAEL AND THE RECENT
BREZHNEV SPEECH.

2. ASKED TO GIVE HIS VIEWS ON ISRAELI ELECTORAL PROSPECTS
AND ON HIS ROLE IN ANY FUTURE LABOR GOVERNMENT, MR. EBAN
SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH THE LABOR PARTY WAS IN A NEW AND
HARD-PRESSED SITUATION AND ALTHOUGH THE DREAM OF UNSEATING
LABOR AFTER ITS MANY YEARS OF TENURE WAS MORE INTENSELY
FELT THAN EVER BEFORE, IT STILL APPEARED THAT THE LABOR
PARTY WOULD POLL MORE VOTES IN THE ELECTION THAN ANY OTHER
PARTY, AND WOULD IN CONSEQUENCE BE IN A POSITION TO
FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT COALITION. IN THE PRESENT
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 TEL AV 02136 281059Z

CIRCUMSTANCES, LABOR'S POSSIBILITIES HAD TO BE
RECKONED MORE IN TERMS OF EQUALING, OR NEARLY EQUALING,
THE SUPPORT IT HAD IN THE LAST ELECTIONS, THAN IN
INCREASING IT.

3. AS FOR HIS OWN ROLE, EBAN SAID ONLY THAT IT WOULD
BE NECESSARY TO SPLIT THE DUAL ROLES OF DEPUTY PRIME

MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER, BOTH CURRENTLY FILLED BY YIGAL ALLON. (EBAN HAD TOLD ALLON: "WE HAVE TO BE MORE SOCIALISTIC AND LESS MONOPOLISTIC.") TO THE OBSERVATION THAT THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (DMC), IF IT WERE TO BRING A GOOD NUMBER OF KNESSET SEATS INTO A LABOR-LED COALITION, WOULD NO DOUBT ASK FOR A TOP MINISTERIAL POSITION, EBAN RESPONDED THAT YADIN'S GROUP, BECAUSE OF THE NATURE OF ITS INTERESTS, WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN THE TREASURY (MINISTER OF FINANCE) SPOT, IF THEY COULD GET IT. IN AN ASIDE, EBAN INDICATED THAT IF ONE JUDGED FROM THE HIGHER-RANKING NAMES ON THE DMC LIST, THE NEW PARTY SEEMS SPIRITUALLY CLOSER TO THE LIKUD THAN TO LABOR. ON THE OTHER HAND, TERRITORIAL AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WOULD BE LESS IMPORTANT FOR THE DMC THAN DOMESTIC ISSUES. EBAN REITERATED THAT LABOR WOULD MOST LIKELY STILL BE THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEXT GOVERNMENT.

4. LABOR WILL BE PUTTING TOGETHER ITS LIST OF KNESSET CANDIDATES SHORTLY, EBAN SAID, AND AT LATEST READING, THIS WOULD BE DONE IN THE MANNER "OF A CROSS-WORD PUZZLE--WITH RABIN HERE, PERES OVER THERE, ALLON DOWN THERE, MYSELF, SHLOMO HILLEL, AND SO ON." FOR THE TOP OF THE LIST, AT ANY RATE, THE ARRANGEMENT WOULD REPRESENT A NEARLY EQUAL COMPROMISE BETWEEN RABIN AND PERES SUPPORTERS WITHIN THE PARTY AND THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE PRETTY MUCH THE CASE FOR THE REST OF THE LIST AS WELL. THE TWO GROUPS WILL JUST HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 TEL AV 02136 281059Z

TO WORK TOGETHER, EBAN SAID, FOR IN THIS ELECTION LABOR WOULD HAVE A HARD TIME EVEN WITH A TOTALLY UNIFIED PARTY.

5. LOOKING BEYOND THE ELECTION, EBAN SAID THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO FACE DECISIONS ON TERRITORIAL ISSUES IN 1977, WHICH WOULD RESULT IN A POLARIZING OF ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION CONCERNING HIS OWN ATTITUDE ABOUT THIS, EBAN REPLIED THAT HE HAD HOPED THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DONE IN 1976, BUT THERE WAS THE LEBANESE WAR AND THERE WAS ALSO IMMOBILITY IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE RESULT THAT NONE OF THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED HAD STEPPED FORWARD WITH INITIATIVES. THE FACT IS, EBAN SAID, THAT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS CAN'T GO FORWARD WITHOUT THE CATALYTIC ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES; THERE IS NO ONE ELSE WHO CAN EVEN COMMUNICATE WITH BOTH SIDES.

6. COMMENTING ON BREZHNEV'S RECENT SPEECH AND HIS COMMENTS ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, EBAN SAID THAT CLOSE READING OF BREZHNEV'S REMARKS SHOWS THAT IT DOES NOT CONTAIN ANY NEW SOVIET POSITIONS. HE HAD COMPARED THE SPEECH WITH STATEMENTS THAT GROMYKO HAD EARLIER MADE TO HIM AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, WITH THE SOVIET DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WHERE THE ESSENTIALS OF THE SOVIET POSITION ARE SPELLED OUT. WHAT BREZHNEV DID, EBAN SAID, WAS TO COUCH THE SAME SOVIET POSITION IN MORE FRIENDLY TERMS AS A SIGNAL TO THE UNITED STATES THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS WERE NOT RALLY SO FAR APART WHEN IT COMES TO THE TERMS OF AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. EBAN SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS SIGNED THAT IT THINKS SOME NEGOTIATING PROGRESS IS LIKELY THIS YEAR AND THAT IT DOES NOT WISH TO BE EXCLUDED BY THE UNITED STATES FROM PLAYING A ROLE. "I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE MOSTLY MOVED BY CON- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 TEL AV 02136 281059Z

SIDERATIONS OF STATUS IN SUCH THINGS," EBAN WENT ON, AND IF THEY ARE BROUGHT INTO NEGOTIATIONS, AS LEAST FORMALLY, THEN PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE.

7. AS FOR ISRAELI-SOVIET BILATERAL AFFAIRS, EBAN SAID THAT HE COULD NOT SEE ANY CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THEY MIGHT BECOME "SYMMETRICAL" WITH ISRAELI-U.S. TIES. IT IS MORE THAN A SIMPLE QUESTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. DURING THE PERIOD SINCE ISRAELI-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE BROKEN OFF, THE SOVIETS HAVE FOUND VARIOUS WAYS OF SENDING EMISSARIES WHO BORE THE MESSAGE THAT IF ONLY ISRAEL WOULD ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF RETURNING TO THE PRE-1967 LINES, THEN ISRAEL COULD HAVE ANYTHING: DIPLOMATIC TIES, AMERICAN GUARANTEES, SOVIET GUARANTEES, FOUR-POWER GUARANTEES, EXCHANGE OF VISITS BY FOREIGN MINISTER, ETC.

8. EBAN AND PALMER ALSO EXCHANGED REMARKS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF INCORPORATING AN ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT INTO A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT (SOMETHING WHICH THE SOVIETS REJECTED WHEN SC RESOLUTION 242 WAS FORMULATED, ACCORDING TO EBAN), AND ON EVENTS IN PAKISTAN, INDIA, AND IRAN. EBAN WAS IN HIS USUAL GOOD HUMOR: APPLYING THE INDIAN ELECTORAL LESSON TO ISRAEL'S LABOR PARTY, HE QUIPPED THAT BEGIN TOO COULD BE PRIME MINISTER WHEN HE REACHED 81. DUNNIGAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, POLITICAL SITUATION, SPEECHES, PEACE PLANS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TELAV02136
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770105-0852
Format: TEL
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770314/aaaaalrv.tel
Line Count: 166
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1357a1b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2971840
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EBAN ON CURRENT ELECTORAL SCENE AND BREZHNEV SPEECH
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS, US, UR, XF, (EBAN, ABBA), (BREZHNEV, LEONID I)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbs://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1357a1b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009